stomach of the child and that it would inherit the natural weaknesses of the animals which the father had eaten. For example, if the father ate tortoise the child would be deaf and would have no more brains than this animal and if he ate manatee the child's eyes would resemble those of this animal i.e., small and round. There are many similar examples of the same thing.

Finally, during all of this time they have absolutely no intercourse with their wives. Brutality, weakness, and unbridled lust, typical of the greater part of our Christians, is sufficiently restrained by these barbarians who have neither faith nor religion. In addition, as soon as their wives conceive they have no further intercourse.

The women also fast during the time after the birth of their child, but not so rigorously as their husbands. They prepare themselves by this means and take great care to flatten the foreheads of their babies while the bone is still pliable. They push in the nose to make it flat. However, many of them may be found who have aquiline noses which look just like the noses of the French.

Eight days after the six month period the father invites one of his most intimate friends to be the godfather of his son, or if the child is a girl, the friend is called a godmother. They have a small banquet and then cut a little hair from the head of the child. They pierce the ear lobe and also the septum of the nose and they pass two or three threads of cotton through the hole to make certain that the wound will not mend itself. Next they pierce the lower lip. If they think that the child is too weak to stand this pain they postpone the piercing and content themselves with cutting its hair. This being done they give the child the name which will be his for life [but] which does not prevent the taking of other names. But that name will be with him always and in recognition of the fact the father and mother of the child anoint the neck and head of the godfather or godmother with oil of palmetto.

It is astonishing to see how few Carib children are deformed considering the fact that their mothers never swaddle them; in this respect the Carib women would be able to mock at our French women who pamper their children. When the children have gained strength through their mother's milk they are then given some sweet potatoes or bananas which are first chewed by the mothers and then put into the mouths of their babies.

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—Sexual intercourse was forbidden during pregnancy. The birth often took place by a fire. If it caused trouble, the woman drank juice made from a certain root. Afterward she washed the child in a stream and placed it in a tiny hammock or on a couch of leaves. If the birth had taken place at night, the men of the house bathed themselves so that the child would not catch cold. 844

For several days after birth the mother fasted, eating only dried cassava and drinking warm water. The father, on the other hand, practiced the couvade. Immediately after the birth he complained of pains, went to a separate hut, and lay in a hammock. He remained there for at least 40 days after the birth of his first child, and for 4 or 5 days after the birth of other children. During this time he went out only at night and avoided meeting anyone for fear that they might tempt him to break his fast, thereby making the mother sick and the child cowardly. At first he took no food. After 5 days he was permitted to drink corn beer and after 10 days to eat manioc bread in increasing quantities. He ate only the insides of the bread, the crusts being hung up in the hut until the end of the 40-day period, when they served as the basis for a feast in the village carbet. Preceding the feast the father was brought into the carbet, was stood on two large flat cakes of cassava, and was scarified by two men chosen by the carbet chief. A mixture of urucú, pepper seeds, and tobacco juice was rubbed into the cuts, and the blood which fell from them was daubed on the face of the child so that he would have the courage shown by the father in undergoing scarification. The man was then fed the two cassava cakes upon which he had stood and also fish, which he had to spit out. He went back to bed for several days and had to abstain from the flesh of animals for a period of 6 months or a year, lest the child become deformed.[1] 844

The child received its first name 12 or 15 days after birth from a friend of the father who acted as godfather or godmother. The name was taken from that of an ancestor, from nature, or from something that had happened during birth, pregnancy, or the couvade. If the baby were strong enough to bear it, his ears, nose, and lips were pierced at the same time, but this might be deferred until 2 years had passed, when the child's hair was cut. 551 553 [304]

At first all children ate with the mother; when 4 or 5 years old the boys began to eat in the men's house. The fathers spent much time in training their sons in hunting, fishing, swimming, singing, basketry, making canoes, and particularly in shooting the bow and arrow, at which they had [853] 868

[1] The accounts of the couvade vary considerably from source to source. The above version is taken largely from Davies (1666, pp. 336-338), with supplemental data from La Borde (1674, pp. 249-250).

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

It is not usual for husband and wife to spend the whole night together—each retires to sleep on a separate couch or mat.

Rochefort mentions the fact that the Island Carib of his day never touched a pregnant woman. This is still true, be the woman his own wife or another.

I have heard a married woman protest that she was not normally pregnant, but that a piai had put a tête-chien (dog-headed Dominica constrictor) in her belly. On the other hand, legend reports this snake as having had connections with woman in the old days.

Parturition is accomplished in a squatting or sitting posture (in the old days by straddling a hammock split lengthwise down the middle), and with the assistance of some old sage-femme, whose manipulations and remedies are of very doubtful benefit to the patient. After giving birth, the Carib woman remains confined to the house for 40 days; i. e., until her "retour de couches."

Suckling by the mother is general, and often of long duration. I came across a little boy of about 4 years, who, after helping his elder sister to carry up water from the river, used to claim and obtain refreshment from his mother's "tote-totes" (breasts; children's speech, possibly from Carib "totaka," to support). In the all-too-frequent event of a woman dying in childbirth, the maternal aunt or even the grandmother will suckle the infant. I was told that any woman who once has borne, irrespective of age, may induce lactation by the use of certain herbs, some applied locally, others taken internally. I was unable to learn their names, with two exceptions: the ripe fruit of the corossol (*Anona muricata*) and a berry they call kurupûm (*Renealmia exaltata* (?)). Whatever the cause, I myself witnessed the case of a woman whose youngest child was a grown man, giving the breast with apparent success to her niece's newborn baby.

Clever as the Carib woman would seem to be in inducing the rise of her milk, so her attempts to get rid of it appear clumsy to us. When the time for weaning has come, her usual procedure is to milk herself onto a fire stone, or, better still, into the nest hole of a species of large black ant, known locally as fourmis mordantes.

The naming of infants has, nowadays, become confused with Christian baptism, though the baptismal name itself is rarely, if ever, used in after life, its place being taken by another, chosen concurrently. Despite the priest's protests, baptism is delayed until at least one month after birth—that is, until the septa of the cranium have joined. The choice of names falls to the godparents—to the godfather in the case of a boy; to the godmother in the case of a girl. Carib names, such as Wàkanik, Màruka, Cimanàri, are known to have been used as recently as 20 years ago, but no living example remains. The nonbaptismal name now takes their place. Most families bear surnames, or, as they call them, "titles"—relics, in all

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

553 probability, of their forefather's conversion and of the name of his white godfather. Such today are Dauville, Lucien, Viville, John, Darroux, Benjamin, etc. But already these names are falling into disuse and being forgotten even by their bearers, who designate the individual by attaching the patronymic to the name—so, Norbert John, the son of John Jules, the son of Jules Benjamin. Friends sometimes "swap" or exchange names.

551 The Carib of Dominica retains the Indian's traditional dislike of the indiscriminate use of his name. In ordinary forms of address he almost always uses "compère," "commère" (the old "gossip"), "cousin," "chef," "babe," "boy," etc. He habitually refers to people by a nickname (Popote, Fanfan) or by abbreviating the real name (Ma' Ham for Madame Hamilton). When traveling or staying in some other part of the island or abroad, he invariably changes his name, adopting for the time what Roth calls a "nom de voyage." The reason for this, as explained to me by a Carib friend, is that "nobody can do you anything (piaI, charm) when they do not know your right name." This idea that the name is part and parcel of the thing or person to whom it belongs, and the adoption of a false denomer, in order to trick the nefarious genii, is, I believe, peculiarly Indian. Thus, before going to the provision grounds or to the woods [777 for food, a mother of the old school will tell her children that she is 784] going to "fouiller fourmis" (dig for ants), fearing that she would be unlucky and return empty-handed should she pronounce the real name, and say (for example) that she was going to look for wawa (wild yam: *Ipomœa cordata* L.).

576 Forms of greeting are seldom used by the Caribs. Even after a long absence, a man will arrive with a simple "I am come," and take leave, before a long separation, with no more than "I am going."

262 Women and children eat in the kitchen apart from the men and [264] after the latter have finished. I understand that this habit is peculiar, in Dominica, to the Caribs; though it would seem to be more a matter of convenience than custom in a community where the women do all their own housework. Vestiges of taboo seem to subsist with regard to the eating of certain foods. One old woman gave as the reason for not eating a species of sea crab, called àgaya, that the [942] latter sometimes "had to do with women." She averred that this crab, were it to meet a girl or woman on the beach, would crawl up and urinate on her leg, thus rendering her pregnant for him. We read that the Caribs of other days would not eat hen, turtle, or eel for fear of thereby acquiring the unworthy characteristics of these beasts. There are Caribs in Dominica today who, for similar reasons, will not touch the meat of shark, conger eel, or an elsewhere widely consumed variety of fish, locally known as "vive."

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

custom) men did not have intercourse with a woman while she was pregnant; though whether this was intended (like the post-puerperal sexual abstinence recorded by Breton) to safeguard the child, he does not say. The modern Carib does not rationalize this custom, but says it is a matter of taste.

Soon after a child is born [writes Breton] the woman chosen for that purpose reshapes its head by kneading, widening the crown and bringing it down in an equal slope to the eyes, so that the forehead is on a line with the rest.

The mother endeavored to maintain this shape by exerting pressure on the child's head whenever it was asleep on her lap.

Children were named "unofficially" at birth by their mothers or grandmothers. Later—Breton says eight days, Rochefort twelve to fifteen days, and Du Tertre six months and eight days after birth—a man and a woman were chosen as sponsors to impose a "true" name on the child. It was also they who pierced its ears, underlip, and the division of its nostrils (for the future wearing of karákuli, etc.). The "baby-name," or rather an abbreviated form of it together with that of the father, was the one employed in reference, etc. Thus Kuy´-lírahī-íme stood for Kuy´mene (baby-name) lírahī (*his child*) `Imeruái (father's baby-name). (This custom still obtains, Hamilton the son of Nicolas being currently spoken of as Ham-Nini.) The true name might be retained or changed in after life, but it must be kept secret from all but intimates.

After the birth of his first child, the Island Carib father practised what we now call the couvade; and explained this custom by saying that should he omit it, not only would others scorn him, but he would the sooner get old and infirm himself, while his new-born child also would suffer. However, under the heading ihwenemátobu *mon premier né, le sujet de mon jeusne* (also *phantaisie*: cf. ihwénɔte *a dream;* ihwenémali *a fast*), Breton states that these fasts were practised "particularly at the death of one of their family, at the coming of the first child, and at the capture of an enemy, etc." Moreover they did not necessarily begin coincidentally with the accouchement, etc.: "on the contrary I have seen them come from without, stealthily and in secret a month after the birth, to perform their retreat and fasts." Elsewhere we read of similar prescriptions for candidates for a chieftainship, for would-be shamans, and for girls at the time of their first menses. Ordinarily, these fasts consisted in the faster's lying up in his hammock and abstaining from all food and drink for five days, and from all but boiled cassava drink for another four (Breton). According to Du Tertre, after the first five days besides drinking wiku men ate the centers of cassava-cakes whose outer rims were then strung up and reserved for the elétuak festival. After these nine days they ate manioc-starch cassava-cakes as much as

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

its tongue "to break the thread" (?) so that it may the sooner learn to speak. 844
Then she stretches the limbs, pinches the nose, and "gives the head a nice shape" 304
by pressing the forehead with her thumb-pads upward and backward from the supraorbital ridges toward the crown. This proceeding is continued by massaging the forehead, using a circular and upward motion of the palm of the hand. No measures are taken today to maintain the head-shape thus given, and "only old-timers bother to make a child look nice, nowadays." A bulbous or protruding forehead is considered ugly. [826]

The accouchée has to submit to a strict regime for forty days, but the newborn child is suckled in what to us is a haphazard way, given arrowroot or *Canna* starch and herbal teas from the start, and handled by all members of the household. 846 853

The baby-name given to the child at birth is today that by which it is registered; while the "true" name, chosen by the sponsor of like sex, is that now given in baptism. This rite, at which the parents do not assist, usually takes place a month or so after birth, and is followed by either a feast or dance or both. Godparents are chosen rather for their social or economic status than for any spiritual qualities. The relationship is, however, taken very seriously, and parents and godparents address one another as "compère" and "commère." The ears of female infants are pierced and a thread passed through the hole in order to keep it open until such time as rings are acquired. 553 851 608 [304]

Apart from the baby-name and patronymic (baptismal names are, at least among older Caribs, not easily divulged) modern Caribs are supposed to have surnames, which they call titres *titles*. But these are infrequently and irregularly employed, and usually consist of the given name of a grandfather or greatgrandfather. Brothers sometimes bear different "titles"! Illegitimate children take their father's name (as patronymic) and "title." 551 [841]

As soon as they learn to walk, Carib children follow their mothers or big sisters to the river morning and evening, and so acquire early a taste for bathing and the habit of carrying little calabashes of water or other loads more in play than in earnest. Soon their fathers or big brothers make for them tiny carry-alls (shoulder-baskets), traps, fishing rods, etc., so that play and work merge into one another. One of the few non-utilitarian amusements—for some grown-ups as well as for children—is to "run the waves" (courir lames), a local variety of surf-riding which Breton also recorded. When available, the "tote" of a canoe—a plank seat about 9 inches wide by 2½ to 3 ft long—is used; but with a favorable surf, very good "rides" may be had without it, merely by stiffening the body and using the outstretched hands as a rudder. 861 [515] 526